1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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621 626 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

621 592 Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[36] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *lov*, *lof*, or *lofche*,[37] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 592 627 [421] Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially autonomous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally, one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *loñko*, and at his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[38] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llañkan* that involved his retainers. *Llañkan* was a form of restitution or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors

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[36] Latcham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, occurs in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[37] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "break" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latcham (1924, p. 263) used the word *lov* for these groups of structures.

[38] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llañkan* had to be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death.

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the authority of a *loñko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kon-as*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[38] Because of this custom a chief's power depended largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[39] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man.

If a chief died or if his *kon-as* wished to depose him, neighboring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *loñko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life.

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned into four independent districts called *uthal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *uthal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *ulmens*.[40] Several early sources re-

[38] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 241–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[39] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 737.

[40] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges. 131

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *eilla-rehue*, literally nine villages. 619 621 [594]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also called *vutranmapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 627

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, 1922 b, p. 363), no one cavi was subject to any other cavi; according to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 140), the heads of the machullas were subject to the head of the cabi which the machullas constituted. Given the general democratic decentralized pattern of *Mapuche-Huilliche* political life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed must have been close to purely nominal.

Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more huts (cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older man or a descendant of caciques. (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 355; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 124, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, s. v.) defined cūga (kuga) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also as "la cabeça de parientes, el que es como cacique, e indio principal." Rosales (1877–78, 1:137) states that the "caciques," who with the "toquies" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un cacique que le reconozca mas de los de su linage." How and where these headmen of farming communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The facts we have seem best explained on the provisional hypothesis that the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities, constituting machullas and cavis respectively, were exclusively or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organization, see infra under Warfare.)

Law and legal procedure.—The chief crimes recognized were adultery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times, headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but, more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llaŋkas, 10 such strings for one death. Marcgrav (1648, p. 287) states that the sorcerer was burnt alive—as is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by Barbará (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar *Chiriguano* treatment of sorcerers, and Molina, 1901, p. 154, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf., e. g., Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 40–59.)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible. The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly, the ülʼme, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as lonko. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgodos de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kunpém. There are no villages.

The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martín; Pelluco, family Imigo; Mehuin, families Huecheman, Mauelpán, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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chief; kurá, stone), which he wore suspended from his neck (fig. 4, *a*), and by an earring (he wore only one) which was distinctly different from those worn by other persons (fig. 4, *b*). "I saw a machi [man] wear an ül'me kurá. Why he did so I do not know." 622

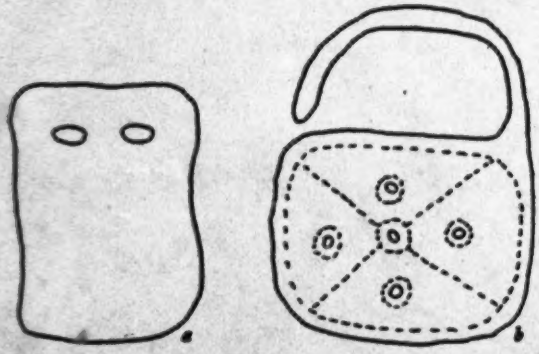

FIG. 4.—Emblems distinguishing a cacique: *a*, An ül'me kurá, a stone worn suspended from the neck of the cacique. (Courtesy Father Sigifredo Fraunhäusl of Panguipelli.) *b*, Earring. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

LAW AND ORDER

As previously stated, in the early days maintaining order and punishing offenders were duties of the cacique. Quoting informants: "In very early days, if it was positively known that a person was a kalku [witch], the cacique ordered such a person to be killed, my mother told me. He was usually pierced with a lance at the ŋillatun." "My father who was a cacique saw to it that there was order among his people. Everybody who had a complaint about anything came to him; complaints were usually about stealing or fighting with either fists or knives. He would threaten punishment, even to having a man shot." "My father was a cacique. I remember when I was a child that someone was beaten up by my father's nephew. My father ordered both men to come before him. After hearing both sides, he corrected his nephew. If someone was known to have stolen cattle, my father sent for him and told him either to pay for the cattle or return them to the owner." 627 [683]

If an offense involved persons from the jurisdiction of more than one cacique, joint action regarding both the offender and his punishment was taken by the caciques concerned. "A cacique from one witran mapu would go to the cacique in another witran mapu, maybe to tell him of a murder, or maybe of a death caused by witchcraft, or 628

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . socio-political structure [725].

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726].

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say:

The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726].

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies.

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away—drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of his lineage—to intercede and advise the man against such action. This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the reservation community. In the many books written about the Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized lineal over residential principles and others having stressed membership in a residential group without considering vital principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life crises, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating nowadays as the focal group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood-money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several reservations, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreative activities, and the like. Common residence paves the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all affinal members attached to the cores of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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613 621 425 rights to land receives some form of compensation. This may be a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

613 621 627 578 These fallings-out between close relatives may be called business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by monetary recompense, rather than leading to litigation in Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business sense, members of these sublineages contest each other's rights not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of ultimate individual rights, arising from the closeness of the kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most always settled within the small sublineages; rarely is an appeal for arbitration made to elders of other sublineages on the reservation, except for disputes between members of different sublineages.

613 182 There is, then, this note of moral responsibility—a consideration of the birth rights of kinsmen within the context of Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter economic hassles. Looking at the force which constrains such disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a consideration of the total maximal lineage. It is the essentially noneconomic, nonpolitical system of religious morality which makes fusion of the sublineages desirable and possible, and which gives the strongly unilinear form to the higher generations. Contention among members of the localized lineage is confined to the lower generational levels, in matters of a practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and approximate the model form of the maximal lineage, because it is essential for the living membership to converge on a common ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social action. The rake-toothed maximal lineage diagrammed to ap-